









### THE "PEACE BALL"

(Washington, His Mother, and His Wife Received at the Ball Celebrating the Surrender of Cornwallis)

*From a painting copyrighted by C. Klackner*

THE American Revolution really ended, as every American knows, with the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown, in Virginia. General Cornwallis, having crushed the southern colonies, except for the guerrilla bands, marched his army northward into Virginia. Here he was entrapped by Washington, who slipped quietly away from the north and had his army in Virginia before the British knew what had become of him. With the aid of a powerful French fleet and a small French army under Count Rochambeau, he surrounded Cornwallis and compelled his surrender.

This brilliant capture of an entire British army led to a very general feeling in America that the war was over, that England would be too exhausted to gather fresh troops and expend them in a renewed attack. Hence the French and American officers who had fraternized at Yorktown united in celebrating a "peace ball," which should serve equally as a memento of their victory and as a means of strengthening their mutual friendship. To this ball Washington brought not only his wife, but also his aged mother from their Virginia home. His mother, as the chief lady of the land, welcomed the French officers, Rochambeau, Lafayette and the others, thanking them for their services while receiving their congratulations on her son's great victory.





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## EVACUATION DAY

Wash. D.C., Sept. 10, 1907.

508



### **"EVACUATION DAY"**

**(Washington and His Troops Entering New York as the British Leave)**

*From an engraving of the time*

THE peace to which the victors of Yorktown looked forward with such confidence, came indeed as a result of their triumph, but not until after an interval of nearly two years. In the first place, it took long for the news of the surrender to reach England. Then it took longer still for the obstinate King George and his obstinate supporters to recognize the magnitude of the disaster and realize how nearly impossible it would be for them to raise fresh armies and transport these to America. Thus it was almost a year after the disaster before the king had yielded so far as to accept the idea of American independence and appoint commissioners of peace to arrange the details.

Hence it was not until the year 1783 that the British troops began evacuating, one after another, the American ports they had so long held in bondage. Last of all the cities to be thus surrendered was New York, where "Evacuation Day" (November 26, 1783) is still held in joyous memory. Washington and all his army were in waiting outside New York, and as the last British troops withdrew, the Americans marched in. For over seven years the city had been the headquarters of English arms; now its citizens welcomed with eager joy the entrance of the heroic liberator.











## THE STATES OF 1793

A Map showing the Just War of 1793, England, Scotland, Ireland, and the

Map of the British Empire, 1793

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration. I am, Sir, very respectfully,  
Your obedient servant,  
J. M. Smith







## THE STATES OF 1783

(A Map Showing Just What Regions England Acknowledged as Independent)

*Prepared for the present work by Austin Smith*

IT must be remembered that our present country, "The United States of America," did not exist when the Britons left us to ourselves in 1783. They had acknowledged the independence not of one nation but of thirteen. These feeble, independent States, the thirteen original colonies, had as yet no real union. They had agreed to a temporary coalition against England, and had elected their "Continental Congress"; but they only obeyed this Congress when they saw fit. They were just thirteen separate nations joined in a temporary alliance or confederation, from which any one could withdraw at will. Let us note these new born States and the region they held upon the map. In New England there were four States: Massachusetts, of which the region of Maine formed part, New Hampshire, an uncertain section cut like a wedge out of the midst of Massachusetts, the little State of Rhode Island which Roger Williams had built up, and Connecticut. In the middle region there were also four States, and in the south five.

To the west none of the boundaries were very sure. Virginia, the oldest State in the South, claimed all the western regions as far as the Mississippi. Massachusetts also claimed much of the northwest. The shrewdness of Franklin had induced the English peace commissioners to include all this "North-western territory" in the region yielded to the Americans.



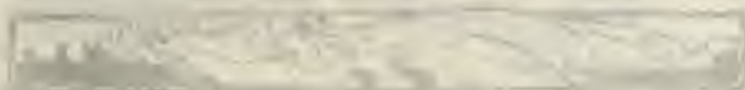






OUR TOP SECRET COPY

1. The first of these is the fact that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, involving many different factors and many different people. The second is the fact that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, which is constantly changing and evolving. The third is the fact that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, which is constantly interacting with the outside world. The fourth is the fact that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, which is characterized by feedback loops and other non-linear relationships. The fifth is the fact that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, which is characterized by uncertainty and risk. The sixth is the fact that the system is not a single one, but a multiple one, which is characterized by many different perspectives and many different interests. The seventh is the fact that the system is not a simple one, but a complex one, which is characterized by many different factors and many different people. The eighth is the fact that the system is not a static one, but a dynamic one, which is constantly changing and evolving. The ninth is the fact that the system is not a closed one, but an open one, which is constantly interacting with the outside world. The tenth is the fact that the system is not a linear one, but a non-linear one, which is characterized by feedback loops and other non-linear relationships. The eleventh is the fact that the system is not a deterministic one, but a probabilistic one, which is characterized by uncertainty and risk. The twelfth is the fact that the system is not a single one, but a multiple one, which is characterized by many different perspectives and many different interests.





### OUR FIRST FRIENDLY TREATY

(Franklin and Jefferson Signing the "Treaty of The Hague")

*From a painting by the German artist, G. Süter*

**L**OOSE and imperfect as was our confederation of independent colonies, it attracted the eager interest and attention of other lands. England had prevented other nations from trading with the colonies; so that our freedom promised to open a new source of wealth to all Europe. The first government to take advantage of this was Prussia. Her mightiest military monarch, Frederick the Great, then sat upon her throne; he professed a profound admiration for General Washington, both as a soldier and as a patriot, and did much to seek American friendship. Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson, released from arduous duty at the French and English courts, met the Prussian representatives at The Hague, Holland's capital, and there in 1785 signed with Prussia our first treaty of "amity and commerce."

Other nations hastened to make similar treaties with us. American prosperity increased at a rate almost marvelous. Not only did our goods enter foreign markets, but they were carried there in our own ships. Before this, America had been only an agricultural country, now she became a maritime one also. Soon American merchant ships were searching every sea, and the Yankees gained a reputation for shrewdness in trade which has clung to them ever since. America became a new force in the development of the world. Especially she became a force in the spread of democracy among the peoples of Europe.













## FRANKLIN AND THE CONSTITUTION

(Franklin in His Philadelphia Home Discusses With Hamilton and Others  
the Framing of the New Constitution)

*From a painting by the American artist, Henry Bacon*

**I**N a very few years after the acknowledgment of American independence everybody began to realize that a much stronger central government was needed; or the different States would soon drift completely apart. Several times neighboring States quarreled, and were almost on the point of war with one another. Finally, at the urging of many patriots with Washington at their head, a "Constitutional Convention" met in 1787 at Philadelphia to plan a stronger union. The difficulties in the way of such a union soon showed themselves almost insurmountable. No State was willing to surrender its own power or its own peculiar institutions. More than once the convention almost disbanded in despair.

In this difficult moment Benjamin Franklin proved himself again, as he had so often before, the shrewdest and wisest of our patriots. On his return from establishing our treaties abroad, he had been made Governor of Pennsylvania, his home State. He was also a member of the Constitutional Convention, and its chief members often gathered round his tea table in Philadelphia to discuss their plans. Franklin, though over eighty years old, was the leading spirit in all these arguments. He was a constant advocate of "compromise," urging each side to yield somewhat, even of its most cherished convictions, so as to enable all to reach a common ground of union. It has often been said that Franklin argued our Constitution into existence.











# THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST

BY SAMUEL JOHNSON

IN FOUR VOLUMES

LONDON: Printed by A. MILLAR, in Pall-mall, 1742.

Vol. II.

CHAP. I.

THE DEATH OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

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## WASHINGTON AT HIS HOME

(General Washington and His Aged Mother Awaiting His Country's Call at Mount Vernon)

*From a painting by the French artist, Louis E. Fournier*

WHILE Franklin was the philosopher who made our Constitution practical, Washington was the hero who made it possible. The people of America had been taught by grim experience a most bitter dread of tyranny. They felt that their liberty depended on keeping their government in their own hands; and the proposition that all the thirteen States should submit themselves to one government dominated by a single person, filled them with fear. But every protest against the danger of a president becoming a tyrant, was answered by pointing to Washington, who might have snatched arbitrary power a dozen times during the Revolution, but had always refused with scorn every urgency to such a course of ambition.

During the years of confusion that followed 1783, Washington kept mainly to his beautiful Virginia home at Mount Vernon. There his aged mother, who had been all his life his best counsellor, still dwelt with him. His beautiful and dignified wife also shared with him the peaceful retirement in which he waited until his country should again call him to her service. The Constitution as framed by the Convention of 1787 was submitted to the various States for adoption. It demanded that each State yield much of its freedom to the strong central government. And as the leaders in each State unwillingly consented to do this, they yielded only because of their universal confidence in Washington.



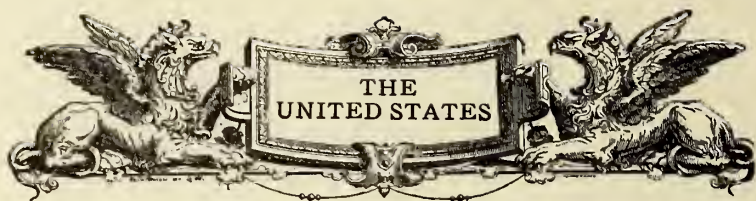


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## WASHINGTON'S INAUGURATION

(Our First President Swears Allegiance to the Constitution)

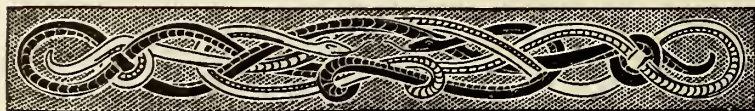
*From an old print of the time*

OUR present "United States" Government was thus formed by the Constitutional Convention of 1787.

When the first elections were held under the provisions of the new Constitution, every presidential vote was cast for Washington. He was unanimously elected; a supreme honor which has never been accorded to any later President.

New York City had been selected as the temporary seat of the central government, and there the members of the first United States Congress gathered early in 1789. Washington was formally inaugurated on April 30th in "Federal Hall" in Wall Street, where the United States sub-treasury building now stands. His inaugural address is still preserved as one of our most valued national documents. Before making this address, he took the solemn oath of office, pledging himself to all his duties; and when the formal oath was finished he added, in his own simple fervor, "I swear, so help me God."

Around him during this earnest ceremony, this launching of our government, were gathered all the men who were to help Washington in making it a success. He chose as his chief advisers, or "Cabinet," Thomas Jefferson as Secretary of State, Alexander Hamilton as Secretary of the Treasury, General Knox as Secretary of War, and Edmund Randolph as his legal councillor or Attorney-General.









2. QUANTITATIVE STUDIES

Washington's Wife





### LADY WASHINGTON'S RECEPTIONS

(Washington's Wife Holds a Semi-Regal Court at Philadelphia)

*From an old painting of the time*

THE national capital was almost immediately shifted from New York to Philadelphia, so as not to be so distant from the more southern colonies. Here in Philadelphia Washington held sway for the eight years of his two Presidential terms (1789-1797). He soon discovered that his views of government were not wholly in accord with those of many of his countrymen. The years of weakness and anarchy which preceded 1789 had deeply impressed on Washington the necessity of a very strong central government. Hence he was determined, so long as he was President, to enforce his rule and to uphold the dignity of his high office as equalling that of any European king. Washington drove about Philadelphia in a "State coach" with six white horses; and he had his wife hold "State receptions" at which she stood like a queen upon a dais to receive the members of the government.

This roused much resentment among many men who insisted that all citizens should be strictly equal. Gradually there sprang up a political party opposed to Washington's aristocratic attitude. A split occurred in his own official family or Cabinet; and Thomas Jefferson became the leader of the new party. They called themselves Democrats, and demanded perfect equality between man and man.











OUR CHINESE INDIAN SAILORS

1947-1948





## OUR CHIEF INDIAN BATTLE

(Wayne Defeats the Indians of the North-West Territory at Fallen Timbers)

*From the historical series by Alonzo Chappell*

WHILE the war with England had established the rights of the American colonists to their own lands, as opposed to Englishmen, it had left unsettled the more ancient quarrel as to the rights of the Indians, the original owners of the entire country. Many minor Indian wars had driven the aborigines entirely out of the populous region along the Atlantic coast. But they still existed in large numbers west of the Allegheny Mountains. All the Ohio Valley and the southern shores of the Great Lakes had been ceded by England to the United States, and settlers began to flock into this "North-West Territory" in large numbers. The Indians claimed this land as their own. They slew unprotected settlers and even fought two fierce and successful battles against the armed forces which the government of Washington sent against them.

Washington decided that the settlers in the West must be protected at any cost. So in 1794 he raised and despatched against the Indians a regular army, under General Anthony Wayne of Revolutionary fame. Wayne harried the Indians so persistently that they called him "the eye that never sleeps"; and at length in desperation they gathered all their forces and attacked his entire army. In this battle of "Fallen Timbers" the United States troops completely broke the strength of the Indians, so that the survivors submitted to all General Wayne's commands, and there was peace along the frontier for nearly twenty years.













## OUR EARLY PRESIDENTS

(The Five Rulers of Our Country During Its Formative Period)

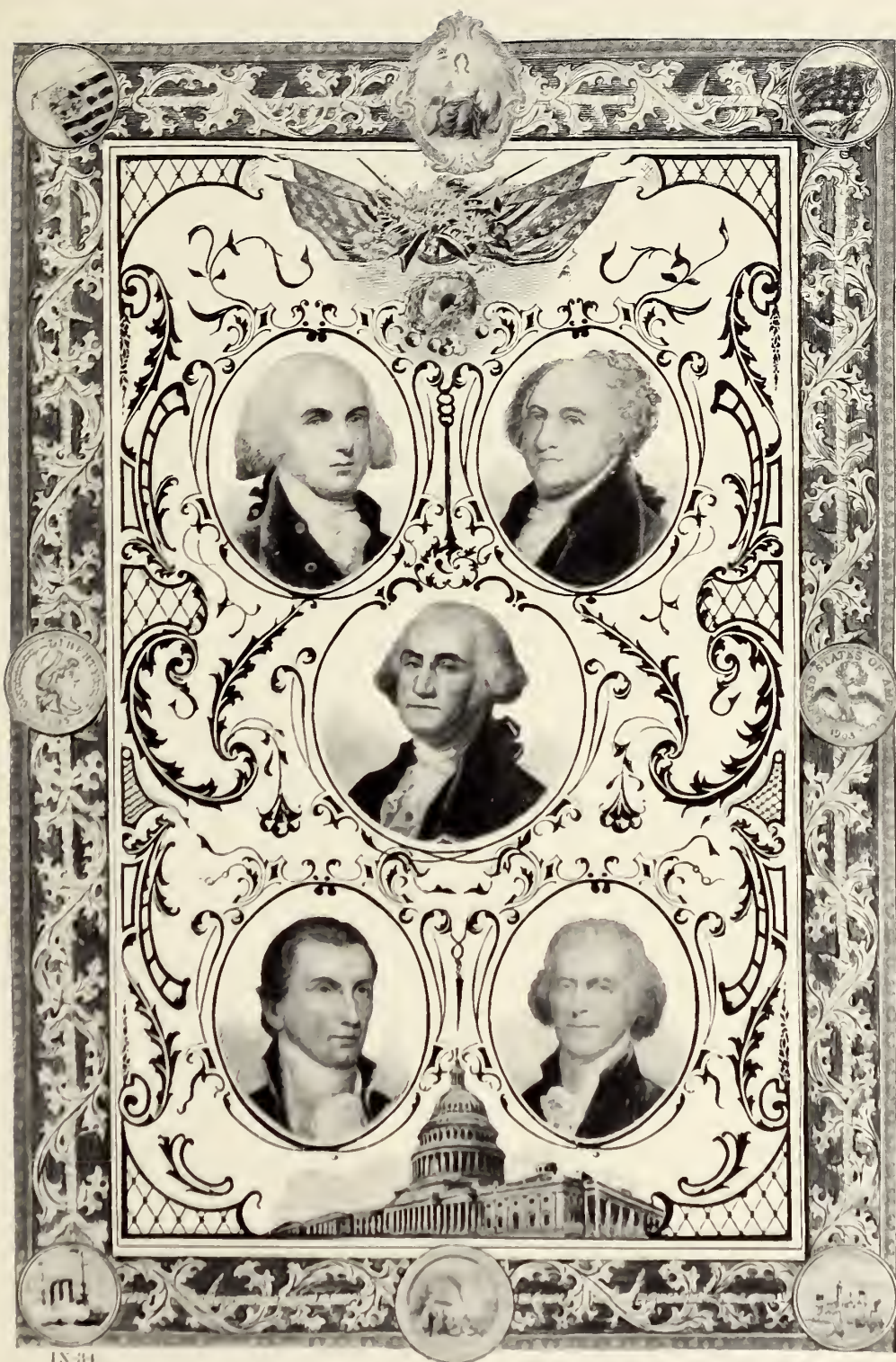
*Prepared especially for the present work*

**M**OST of our early Presidents served the country for two terms each, so that there were only five Presidents during the thirty-six years which preceded 1825. These five are here pictured. Washington was succeeded by his Vice-President, John Adams, the inheritor of his policy of a vigorous central government of aristocratic tone. But the general feeling of the young nation leaned more and more to democracy. Washington's influence had carried Adams into power; but that power soon dwindled to nothing, and when Adams sought election to a second term he was decisively defeated by Thomas Jefferson, the candidate of the Democrats.

After eight years of power Jefferson was able to hand his authority over to his chief lieutenant, Madison; and he in turn, after eight years, handed his office to his Secretary of State, Monroe. Indeed during these years the Jeffersonian principles had become so widely accepted that there was but the one political party, and the period was known as "the era of good-feeling." This harmony had been established as a result of the remarkable success of Jefferson's administration. By purchasing the region west of the Mississippi, he had more than doubled the territory of the United States. And by his economical administration he had reduced both the public debt and the public taxes to such an extent that the Americans found themselves in a full tide of prosperity.







IX-34

Madison  
Monroe

Washington

John Adams  
Jefferson







## THE NAVY OF 1812

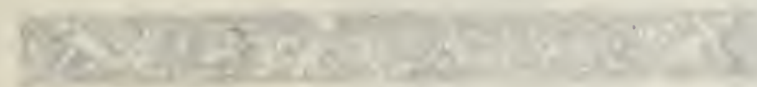
The American Navy, 1793-1812, by the "Miscellaneous"

From a collection of papers of the Navy

**T**he Navy of 1812 was a small one, and it was a small one for a country which had just won a great victory over the British. The Navy of 1812 was a small one, and it was a small one for a country which had just won a great victory over the British. The Navy of 1812 was a small one, and it was a small one for a country which had just won a great victory over the British.

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## THE NAVY OF 1812

(The American Frigate "United States" Capturing the "Macedonian")

*From a painting copyrighted by C. Klackner*

THE first serious check to American prosperity arose from the exactions of the resentful Englishmen. England had seen our ships snatching away her commercial supremacy, and her navy began deliberately to harass the Americans. This led to the War of 1812. We had established our independence in America, we had now to attempt the far more difficult task of establishing it upon the oceans. England had a vast navy; we had only half a dozen frigates. Moreover no English ship had been beaten in equal contest by a foreign ship within the memory of man.

To the amazement of the entire world, our tiny navy began at once a remarkable career of victory. Scarcely had the war begun when our frigate "Constitution" met and captured the British frigate "Guerriere," the deadly fire of the American reducing the Briton to utter wreck. Englishmen hastened to palliate their defeat by pointing out that the "Constitution" was a little larger than the "Guerriere." But shortly afterward Captain Decatur in our frigate "United States" met the powerful British frigate "Macedonian," and defeated her decisively.

So accurate was Decatur's gunfire that the "Macedonian" lost over a hundred of her men and became quite unmanageable. Decatur then placed his ship in a position from which he could destroy the enemy at leisure; and the "Macedonian" surrendered. Other similar contests followed, to emphasize the American superiority.











BOOKS BY THE AUTHOR



### **"DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP"**

**Captain Lawrence, Carried Dying From the Deck, Urges His American Crew to Continue the Fight)**

*From the historical series by Alonzo Chappell*

THE most tenderly remembered naval battle of the War of 1812 was not an American victory, but a defeat. Our frigate "Chesapeake" was being fitted out in Boston Harbor under Captain Lawrence, when the English frigate "Shannon" appeared off the harbor and challenged Lawrence to an equal combat. The "Chesapeake" was really only half ready; but Lawrence, in chivalric enthusiasm to uphold the glory so bravely won by the tiny American navy, accepted the challenge. He himself was mortally wounded by the first British broadside and was borne from the deck of his ship crying weakly to his men, "Don't give up the ship." The unready "Chesapeake" was soon reduced to helplessness, and surrendered.

Gradually the weight of England's thousand ships wore down the strength of the Americans. Our ports were beleaguered by British fleets, and our merchant shipping suffered severely. Never, however, had England fought a naval war so disastrous to herself. Our swift and cleverly handled trading ships, being debarred from their legitimate use, were converted into privateers which raided English merchant ships, until over a thousand of these were destroyed and England's commerce was ruined even more completely than ours. It was really the British merchants who compelled the British Government to stop the war and make peace with us upon any terms that might enable them to resume their trade.









quietly to the society of his wife and aged mother at Mount Vernon, his Virginia home.

Yet another dangerous problem for the States lay in their conflicting claims to the territory west of the Alleghanies. By the treaty of 1783, Great Britain ceded to them all of this vast tract, east of the Mississippi and south of the Great Lakes. You will recall how vague and contradictory had been the original grants of land made by various kings to the founders of colonies. Virginia, the oldest, largest, and most powerful of the States, claimed that her boundaries extended indefinitely northward and westward beyond the Alleghanies. Other States claimed portions of this "Northwest Territory." Massachusetts and Connecticut asserted rights to what is now western New York. That State looked on Vermont as a part of her domains. Amid all these jangling quarrels agreement seemed impossible.

The neutral European powers began to take note of our existence. Prussia signed a treaty of "amity and commerce" with our commissioners, Franklin and Jefferson, at The Hague in 1785; and other nations soon followed her example. Yet unprejudiced observers freely predicted the dissolution of the American league. The country was so vast that news by the swiftest courier took two months to travel from one of its borders to the other. Such an empire, declared our critics, could not possibly be held together except by a single, strong, centralized government.

In part they were undoubtedly right, and, though material prosperity slowly returned to the country, the bonds of our Confederation grew weaker every year. In 1786, Massachusetts, whose inhabitants were supposedly the most law-abiding of all, had to face a revolt against the payment of taxes. These were so oppressive that many of the farmers declared that all land should be held in common. Rioting continued for several months, and "Shay's Rebellion," as it was called from one of its leaders, was only put down by the vigorous use of armed force.

The mountaineers in North Carolina elected a governor and legislature of their own, and declared themselves the independent State of Franklin. This little commonwealth existed over a year before it was abandoned. Spain, which temporarily owned Florida and also the territory west of the Mississippi and around its mouth, prevented the Americans from navigating the great river; whereon the pioneers in the Ohio valley prepared to go to war with her on their own account, and threatened to withdraw from the Confederation if they were not supported.

Should the Union, in the face of all these difficulties, be abandoned? Our ablest citizens said, No! They saw that the little separate States would waste their strength in war against one another, and thus divided must inevitably



fall a prey to the grasping Powers of Europe. One last effort was made to rouse them above their petty jealousies, and draw them into a firm and lasting body. A preliminary convention called by Washington himself met in 1786; and in 1787 the famous Constitutional Convention, authorized both by Congress and by the States, met at Philadelphia.

It consisted of fifty-five of the ablest men the country had produced. Neither John Adams nor Thomas Jefferson, the leaders of the revolutionary Congress, the great typical figures of our North and South, was present; for both were in Europe, the former as our representative in England, the latter in France.

But Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, Madison, and Robert Morris were among the members of the Convention. Washington was chosen its presiding officer, and the entire country awaited with anxiety and with respect the result of the important conference.

From its deliberations emerged the United States as we know it to-day, a single nation, firm, strong, and indissolubly united, with its people law-bound by their own hand, and freer thus than ever nation had been before. Let us look a little at the steps by which this grand result was accomplished.

The Constitution was a series of compromises between the many conflicting interests of the States. Twice the Convention had nearly separated, in despair of ever being able to agree. The gloomy and disgraceful years under a helpless Congress had not, however, been wasted. They had shown everybody that some amount of power and real authority must of necessity be given to the central government. But just how much ought the States to yield? How much could they be persuaded to yield? Should an unwieldy and cumbrous Congress endeavor to enforce its own laws, or should a single man be placed at the head of the Union as its "Executive" or enforcing power? These were the earliest problems to be faced.

It was finally decided to have a President to enforce the laws, and he was to be elected indirectly by the entire people. Congress was given equal power with the States to lay and to collect taxes, and it was given complete authority in all national affairs, the States being restricted to their own local business. Moreover, the laws of Congress were declared the supreme law of all the land, and a "Supreme Court" was to be appointed by the President, with authority to decide all points of legal dispute.

These matters being substantially agreed upon, the Convention found itself confronted by yet more obstinately debated issues. Most difficult of all was the problem of the large and small States. Should representation in the new Government be according to population, or should each State have an equal vote? According to the first method, Virginia with its three-quarters of a mil-



lion people would outweigh little Delaware in the national councils by over a dozen votes to one. By the other system each individual Delaware citizen had more than a dozen times the influence of a Virginian. In the early Congresses and under the Confederation, every State had been regarded as a separate nation and had possessed an equal vote; but that was the very reason why the larger States had so frequently refused to be bound by Congressional decrees. It was impossible for them to accept dictation from a few scattered, sparsely inhabited settlements. Yet how could the little States be expected voluntarily to sink themselves into obscurity, by surrendering practically all voice and influence and independent sovereignty? We all know the compromise finally adopted. Congress was divided into two houses. In the Senate, each State was given equal representation; in the House of Representatives, the number was according to population.

Other serious difficulties arose between free and slave-holding regions, between seaboard and frontier, between communities engaged in trade and those in agriculture. Compromise was everywhere the order of the day. Some points were really left unsettled, and that is why we still dispute about tariff duties, that is why the great slavery war wellnigh disrupted our land. Most of the members of the Convention thought slavery was dying out of itself, and the question was considered less important than some others. "The slave trade is iniquitous," said a Connecticut member, "but inasmuch as the point of representation is settled, I shall not object." Thus were the seeds of disunion permitted to hide themselves even in this splendid document of our country's birth.

The labors of the Convention were completed in about five months. Probably no one of its members was fully satisfied with the result. They only accepted the Constitution as the best that could be agreed upon, as something infinitely preferable to disunion. Some few of them even refused to sign it, and went home to fight against its adoption.

Of course, the members could not themselves make their system binding upon their States. They merely recommended its adoption. The Constitution itself declared that it would be put into operation when nine States should accept it. For a while, such a time seemed never likely to arrive. Not a State, one might almost say not a man in America, but found objections to the proposed system. How could it be otherwise, when the whole scheme had been framed upon the mutual compromise of such deep-seated antagonisms!

James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay now performed perhaps the greatest of their many services to America. They published the "Federalist," a series of papers discussing each point of the Constitution with such

truth, such patriotism, and such far-sighted wisdom as brought all men to broader views.

It has been well said, too, that only the existence of Washington made our Union possible. To no other man would the American people, so lately escaped from the tyranny of King George, have entrusted the mighty power wielded by our President. The constant objection urged to the untried system was that a President might easily make himself a king. "But we have Washington to be our President," was the unanswerable response.

Each State had amendments it wanted to make before accepting the Constitution. Yet if one could amend, all could. The document would be torn to pieces, be nullified; and the work must be begun all over. One by one the objectors gave in, and offered their amendments simply as suggestions to the new Government. Twelve of these amendments, each reserving a little bit of power to States or individuals, were afterward added to the Constitution.

The first State to come under the "new roof" as it was called, was Delaware. Pennsylvania followed. Virginia, despite all the influence of Washington and Madison, wavered and was only the tenth to agree. Still closer was the fight in New York, where naught but Alexander Hamilton's earnest eloquence finally swung a hostile convention to his side.

New York was the eleventh State, and the Constitution was assured. North Carolina and Rhode Island still held out. They did not, in fact, join our Union until after it was actually established and in operation. North Carolina entered late in 1789, Rhode Island in 1790.

Meanwhile, the old Congress declared the Constitution adopted, named New York City as the capital of the Union, called for elections, and set the first Wednesday of March, 1789, as the day when the new Government should go into operation. In the interim, Congress continued its sessions, and did us one service deserving memory. The various States had one by one resigned to the general Government almost all their claims to territory in the Mississippi valley, and in 1788 Congress organized a system of territorial government which has ever since been used for our "territories," or undeveloped States. The whole region north of the Ohio was set off as the "Northwest Territory," and a rush of settlers penetrated the distant but attractive land.

Meanwhile, the various States proceeded with their elections, and the newly chosen Senators and Representatives gathered at New York. The votes of the presidential electors could not be counted until the new Congress was organized, but there was no doubt felt anywhere as to their choice. When the ballots were formally opened, it was found that the "Father of our country" had indeed received an honor higher than has ever been accorded to any other American. There was not one dissenting vote. By an absolutely unanimous

choice, George Washington had been elected the first President of the "United States of America."

For Vice-President, nothing like the same unanimity prevailed. Many men might fairly aspire to the honor. Samuel Adams, of Massachusetts, the first leader of the Revolution; John Adams, his cousin, minister to England and leading orator in the Congress that declared our Independence; Thomas Jefferson, the writer of that famous Declaration; John Jay, the most prominent jurist of the country—each of these men had his advocates. It was generally felt that, with a Virginia man for President, a Northerner, probably from Massachusetts, should be given second place, and this had much to do with the success of John Adams, who received the largest number, though not a majority, of the votes and was declared elected.

Notice of Washington's election was despatched to him at Mount Vernon with all haste, and the new President proceeded to New York in great ceremony, his whole route lined with a grateful, cheering people. On April 30, 1789, he was inaugurated at "Federal Hall," where the New York sub-treasury now stands in Wall Street, New York.

They say he trembled as he took the oath of office, and at the end looked to Heaven and added: "I swear, so help me God." He was certainly agitated and nervous in his brief inauguration speech that followed. Most of us love him all the better for that; it recalls the hesitation with which he accepted command of America's cause in 1775, and we realize how solemnly he made, how sacredly he meant to keep, his vow.



WASHINGTON'S TRIUMPHAL ROUTE TOWARD NEW YORK





DEATH OF HAMILTON

## Chapter XIV

### THE EARLY DAYS OF STRUGGLE.

[*Authorities* : Walker, "The Making of the Nation" ; Fiske, "Critical Period of American History," "Civil Government in the United States" ; Johnston, "History of American Politics" ; Stanwood, "History of Presidential Elections" ; Gibbs, "Administration of Washington and Adams" ; Lodge, "Washington," "Hamilton" ; Morse, "Hamilton," "John Adams," "Jefferson" ; Griswold, "The Republican Court" ; W. Maclay, "Journal" ; Thomas Jefferson, "Anas."]



THE new Government was prosperous from its birth, though it must not be supposed that all difficulties disappeared the moment the Union was established. The advantage of having Washington at its head was manifest at once; for Congress trusted him, and in its eagerness to aid his work, created four powerful officials to be appointed by him and to serve as his assistants or "cabinet" of advisers. These were a Secretary of State, a Secretary of War, a Secretary of the Treasury, and an Attorney-General.

The discussion of the Constitution had already revealed the fact that there were two ways of "interpreting" it. Some men, desiring a strong central Government, construed the great document "liberally"; that is, stretched it so as to give all possible power to Congress. Some, clinging to the rights of the States, interpreted it "strictly," and would have Congress do nothing except what was specifically authorized in the Constitution. Most prominent of the "Federalists," as the friends of strong government came to be called, because they favored the Federation or Union, were Vice-President Adams and Alex-



ander Hamilton. Leader among the champions of the States was Thomas Jefferson.

Washington himself was strongly Federalist in his views, having seen how the American cause had been almost ruined by the weakness of Congress. But his main purpose was to establish a just and impartial government; and, having no desire to force his ideas upon the nation in defiance of those of other men, he invited both Hamilton and Jefferson to become members of his cabinet or official family. Jefferson was installed as Secretary of State, Hamilton of the Treasury. The two men had been personal friends, and despite their antagonistic views the combination government, for a time, worked harmoniously.

Hamilton put our exhausted finances in order. The man was a genius. "He touched the dead corpse of public credit," says Webster, "and it sprang upon its feet." His most important achievement was that of having the United States assume the individual debts of each State. This made every public creditor an earnest upholder of the new Government. Of course the scheme was strongly opposed by States whose debts were small. Party lines hardened into shape in Congress. Jefferson's supporters declared the Constitution gave no authority to assume these debts, and Hamilton only succeeded in carrying this and other financial measures by a compromise.

It was understood that New York was but a temporary capital. Northern men wanted the permanent site to be in the same latitude. Southerners wanted it nearer their own homes. Most of Hamilton's opponents were Southern men. A few of these agreed to support his financial measures, and he upheld them in placing the permanent capital on the banks of the Potomac. The agreement is said to have been reached over Jefferson's dinner-table. The District of Columbia was ceded to the Government, and it was arranged that Congress was to meet for ten years at Philadelphia and then to move to the city which should be specially built for it at Washington.

These earnest efforts at harmony and the balancing of conflicting interests might have been everywhere successful, but for the French Revolution. That terrific outbreak, which began in 1789, the very year of the formation of our new Government, soon involved us in its difficulties. We owed a great, an immeasurable, debt to France for her aid in men and money during the Revolution. All Americans were anxious to repay this, but the bloody excesses into which France soon plunged, revolted cooler men. When she hurled herself in defiant war against all Europe, we refused to follow. America was just slowly recovering from her own exhaustive struggle. To plunge into another contest against England would have been our ruin.

Washington declared that only after twenty years of peace could we take any strong position among nations. Leading men of all views agreed with him

in this, even Jefferson, who as minister to France had become warmly in sympathy with her people. Jefferson, however, desired to favor our old ally as far as we possibly could without actual strife. Washington refused to attempt so dangerous a course, which might at any moment justify England in declaring war. He insisted on a strict neutrality, but the mass of our people naturally upheld Jefferson, who thus found himself at the head of a mighty party of the hot-headed and the unthinking.

The various political disputes began to take on a tone of bitterness unknown in their earlier stages. Jefferson was called a reckless demagogue. He, on the other hand, accused the Federalists, and especially Hamilton, of aiming at a monarchy. Washington himself was not spared by the virulent newspapers of the opposition; and as his first term of office drew to an end, our great leader, hurt and saddened, wished to resign his heavy responsibility and retire to his well-earned age of peace. But men of all parties joined in urging him to accept a re-election. Even Jefferson, who had personally instigated some of the newspaper attacks against the President, wrote to him that with affairs still at so critical a stage, no other man could hold the Union together. Convinced by these pleadings, Washington once more set aside his private wishes for his country's sake, and once more he was unanimously elected.

Scarcely had he resumed office (1793), when the French troubles rose to dangerous heights. France seemed to take our alliance for granted, and sent here as minister a M. Genet, who began enlisting men for the war, bringing English ships as prizes into our ports, and in all ways acting as if America were but a colony of France. Washington protested firmly, and Genet responded defiantly, refusing to recognize the President's authority, on the ground that in this matter it did not represent the "will of the people." He thus trampled under foot our infant system of government, and would have destroyed it. Nevertheless, the friends of France greeted him everywhere with banquets and celebrations. Washington demanded that France recall him for his insults to the Government.

Fortunately for our peace, the rapid changes in France had by this time placed in power a party opposed to Genet. They repudiated his actions and summoned him home. Fearing that he would be beheaded, he wisely preferred staying in America; and, abandoning his official position, he remained here as a private citizen, protected by the Constitution he had spurned.

The Genet incident revealed clearly the perils of our newly formed Government. It was as yet only a distrusted experiment. Our people had not learned the loyalty and patriotism, the pride in the "United States," which is the basis of its present strength. Many were quite ready to disband the Union the moment it displeased them. In the heat of dispute, even Washington was as-

sailed with a violence of language which, as he sadly protested, "could scarcely be applied to a Nero, to a notorious defaulter, or even to a common pick-pocket."

Genet's outrageous insults to the Government, however, caused a reaction in its favor; men were resolved to protect it from such contempt. Even Jefferson repudiated Genet, and retained a place in Washington's cabinet until the tumult was over. But the ever-widening divergence between his views and those of the rest of the President's advisers made his position so impossible that he soon afterward resigned.

In addition to Jefferson's anti-Federalism and French sympathies, a third and even more deep-rooted difference of sentiment led to this division. Washington and the Federalists generally were afraid to trust the common people. They thought the views of the ignorant must necessarily be narrow, bounded by the immediate interests of the moment, easily swayed by demagogues, and readily carried to any extravagance of cruelty and folly. The excesses of the French Revolution served to intensify these beliefs, and the Federalists aimed more and more to restrict the free exercise of power by the people, and confine government to the hands of the educated.

Jefferson, on the contrary, undismayed by the horrors in France, professed a firm faith in the lasting honesty and good sense of the mass of the people, and urged that their unfettered will must be law. An aristocracy, he thought, would inevitably govern selfishly, for its own selfish preservation. His followers began to call themselves "Democratic-Republicans," from the old Greek word *demos*, meaning the common people.

It is worth while to remember these points of difference, for they were not surface disputes, perishing with the men who started them. They found their origin, for the most part, in the fundamental differences between man and man, and the present day sees political parties fighting the same old battles. Our Democrats still call themselves technically "Democratic-Republicans," and trace their party back to Jefferson. Our Republicans, though not in such direct descent, have inherited many of the doctrines of Federalism.

Let us, then, review once more the Jeffersonian principles. They included the upholding of the liberty of each State and individual, as opposed to a strong, central government with imperial power; the trusting of the masses, rather than their restraint under an aristocracy, and the seeking of friendship with France, Ireland, and the fiery southern nations, as against England and the colder races of the north.

Two other of Jefferson's fundamental doctrines were those of economy and of simplicity. Since he wished the central government to do as little as possible, he naturally insisted that it should spend but little, and thus keep taxes



low. The other question, simplicity, was less trivial than it perhaps appears. Washington had thought it very necessary to impress upon the world the dignity and splendor of his high office. He drove about Philadelphia in a coach drawn by six white horses, and the receptions held by his wife, Lady Washington, were marked with a haughty stiffness and formality unknown to our day. Jefferson protested against all this ceremony. In later days, when he himself was elected President, he rode alone into Washington on horseback, and, dismounting, tied his nag to the nearest post. Whether we choose to regard this as the shrewd art of the politician who knew his constituents, or as the real unostentatious nature of the man, "Jeffersonian simplicity" undoubtedly became a very large factor in its originator's success.

Twice during his second term Washington was obliged to employ military force. The first time was against the Indians in the Northwest Territory. They resented the intrusion of settlers into their lands and defeated two small forces despatched against them. Washington then sent General Wayne with a strong army. "Mad Antony" was the nickname Wayne had won in the Revolution, but now the Indians learned to call him "The-eye-that-never-sleeps." He harried them over hill and dale, defeated them in a decisive battle at "Fallen Timbers" (1794), and so completely broke their spirits that they sued humbly for peace.

In the same year (1794) arose the "Whiskey Rebellion." Hamilton's financial schemes had compelled the Federalists to lay heavy taxes on many things. The tax on whiskey bore specially hard upon the people of Western Pennsylvania, who manufactured it extensively. They rose in open rebellion, and in such numbers that Washington sent fifteen thousand troops to crush them. Confronted by this overwhelming force, the rebels dispersed without giving battle. The vigorous and successful action with which the President thus met every form of resistance to his authority, slowly reawakened in the minds of the people that respect for law which had wellnigh disappeared.

The partisan nature of the clamor against Washington over the Genet matter, and still more over a friendly treaty which he made with England, was clearly shown when his second presidential term drew to a close. The very "Democratic-Republicans" who had assailed him, admitted that he had been right in both disputed cases, and urged him to continue for yet another four years his wise and far-sighted guidance of the nation. But Washington pleaded his increasing age, which must soon make him a mere figurehead, while all real work would be in the hands of his subordinates. He pointed out also that one great danger to the nation lay in a President's using the power of his office to secure continued renominations, and thus to become practically a ruler for life. Washington therefore persisted in retiring, and thus did us one more



service by setting to the presidential term an eight-year limit, which never has been and probably never will be overstepped.

The farewell speech with which our great benefactor retired from office (1797) was full of such statesmanlike advice, such earnest prophecy of the future, that every American should know it by heart, as all who deeply love their country do. The United States was Washington's child, which he had reared and loved, and, as he pointed out the course it must pursue, not one selfish thought clouded his clear-seeing brain. He died in 1799 at Mount Vernon, honored and mourned as no other man has ever been. The world now sees his greatness as well as we, and Europe unites with us in placing him upon a pinnacle—alone.

Washington's retirement left the presidential field open. Jefferson was, of course, nominated by the Democrats. He towered head and shoulders above all others of his party. Among the Federalists the leadership was not so clear. John Adams claimed the nomination and received it. As Washington's Vice-President he had often been half-jestingly referred to as his heir. Nevertheless, the real leader of the Federalist policy, the man by whose measures the party must stand or fall, was Hamilton. He was not upon friendly terms with Adams, and the increasing bitterness between the two so divided their followers that the Federalists escaped political defeat by only the narrowest of margins. Adams had a plurality of but three in the electoral college, and, contrasting this with Washington's unanimous elections, he used bitterly to call himself the "President by three votes."

The vice-presidential choice of his party fell so far behind Adams that Jefferson stood second on the list, and according to the rule of the Constitution became Vice-President. The office thus became a check instead of a help to the administration.

President Adams (1797-1801) continued the resolute peace policy of his celebrated predecessor. England and France were still at war, and both countries treated our infant nation with harshness and contempt. It would be difficult to say which was most severe in its handling of our defenceless ships. Yet we could not possibly fight both! The only thing that kept us at peace, as Jefferson said in later years, was "the difficulty of selecting a foe between them."

The corrupt French Government swung the scale against itself in 1798, by flatly refusing to receive our ambassadors unless they paid money for the privilege, a heavy sum being demanded for the French treasury, and another for the private pockets of the governing "Directory." The insult was too deep to be borne, and the President found a united country once more behind him in his preparations for war. Washington was made general-in-chief, and Hamilton,

who had been his aide during the Revolution, was placed second in command, with the chances that, owing to Washington's age, Hamilton would be the acting general. Our ships at sea began fighting the French frigates with glorious success; but before war was actually declared, another change came over the volatile French Republic, and the new authorities were just a shade less offensive than the former ones. Adams, knowing full well the horrors of war, seized the opportunity to make peace, thereby still further alienating Hamilton and the extremists of his party.

Blinded by the sudden return to popularity which had accompanied his course both in and out of this French affair, President Adams and his friends now determined to go yet further in the direction of strengthening the central government. They passed the celebrated "Alien and Sedition Laws." These were intended as a method of suppressing popular tumult. Adams had been subjected to even more contemptible press attacks than had wounded Washington, and many of the insulting firebrand papers were published by foreigners, Englishmen or Frenchmen, who worked openly for the cause of their own nations. The Alien laws gave the President authority to expel offending strangers from the country, and at the same time made it very difficult for emigrants to become citizens here. The Sedition law gave the Government great power over the press, in punishing whatever might be considered likely to arouse sedition or rebellion.

As a matter of fact, these laws were never enforced to any appreciable extent. But they ruined the Federalist party. People saw in them an attempt to destroy their liberties. Federalists had always been accused of a tendency toward monarchy and tyranny, and these Alien and Sedition Laws were esteemed a proof of the charge. The Virginia and Kentucky State Legislatures passed resolutions of "nullification," the first in our history, declaring the new laws were unconstitutional and should have no force within their borders. The Kentucky nullification paper was drafted by Jefferson himself, and it went so far as to assert that the States must be sole judges as to when the national government exceeded its constitutional power. The country refused to approve this extreme doctrine, which would have made our Supreme Court useless; but the principle continued to be widely held in the South, and we must remember it as one of the excuses for the Civil War.

These disputes started a flood of almost insane party abuse, which deluged the country and continued through the fourth presidential election. Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson were once more pitted against each other, and this time Mr. Jefferson won by a substantial majority. The Federalist period of power was over forever. The Democrats, the believers in the common people, were to essay the task of directing the nation.

For Vice-President the Democrats had nominated Aaron Burr, a brilliant man and unscrupulous politician, the party "boss" of New York State; and he had done much to insure their victory. Under the cumbersome electoral methods of the time, the party electors voted for both him and Jefferson, without designating which they meant for first and which for second place. Thus their vote, cast on strict party lines without one waverer, resulted nominally in a tie between the two men. This threw the election into the hands of Congress, and for a time it seemed as though the Federalists there would deliberately thwart the will of the nation by uniting with Burr's friends and making him our President. More honorable counsels finally prevailed, and Jefferson was elected. The complication caused the Twelfth Amendment to our Constitution, correcting the method of casting the electoral vote.

No one has ever denied that Mr. Jefferson (1801-1809) made one of our greatest Presidents. Federalists had cried out in frantic despair that his rule would mean anarchy and ruin; but, once placed in power, he proved himself as wisely conservative as even Washington had been. It is interesting to note that at one time or other he had to turn his back upon almost every surface doctrine he had advocated; but his great basic principle remained unchanged—he sought to follow the will of the people, to do as they desired; not to oppose, but to express their wishes.

He soon found himself in a dangerous position with regard to his old friend France. Napoleon was now in power there and had purchased from Spain the vast territory of Louisiana, covering all the region between the Mississippi and the Rocky Mountains. This gave France control of the mouth of the Mississippi. Weak Spain had allowed our Western States free use of the river; strong France might not. Jefferson declared himself ready to "wed our fleets and armies to those of England," to draw the sword if necessary, and "throw away the scabbard."

Fortunately, Napoleon needed money. He had little use for Louisiana, since England controlled the ocean between it and France, so he offered to sell us the whole of his newly acquired possession for \$15,000,000. Our President was placed in a new quandary. He had always insisted on a strict interpretation of the Constitution, whereas the very widest extension of its provisions scarce authorized him to buy empires and to double the extent of the land over which he ruled. He wanted an amendment passed to the Constitution to cover the case. But the necessity of immediate action, the inestimable value of the bargain, the urgency of his friends, all overswayed him. Louisiana became ours, and the Constitution was given a wrench such as Federalists had never dared expose it to (1803).

It seems strange to us now that there should have been found objectors

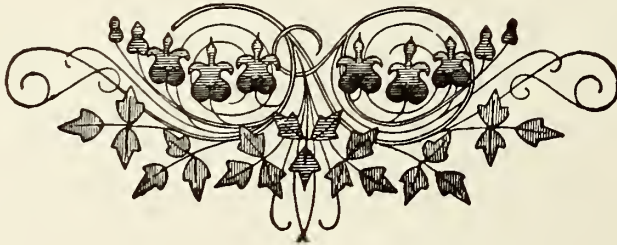


even to this purchase of Louisiana. We know it as the source of half our greatness; but some New Englanders saw in it the decline of their own power, the ultimate reduction of their States to an insignificant fraction in the mighty whole. The Union was not yet firmly consolidated, nor the States made subordinate to the Nation; and it is well to remember that no single district has had a perpetual monopoly of patriotism. New Englanders began to talk of secession just as Southerners had done under Federalist rule. Alexander Hamilton's last service to his country was a rebuke to his friends for even thinking of this abandonment of the Union they had built and served.

It was only the next year that Hamilton was shot in a duel with Aaron Burr, whom he had before prevented from being President, and whose plans for becoming governor of New York he now also frustrated. Little as some people had approved Hamilton's extremer measures, all admired his statesmanship and recognized his vast services to his country. He was universally mourned. Burr became an outcast, and a little later this ex-Vice-President was involved in treasonable plans against the government he had come so near to ruling.

When the time came for another presidential vote, Jefferson was re-elected almost unanimously. He had proved himself so moderate, so generous and far-seeing, that the mass of Federalists gladly accepted his views in preference to the extremes toward which Hamilton had sought to hurry them. A few of the extravagant radicals among his former followers abandoned him; but his party, if party it longer can be called, included now almost the entire body of the nation, leaving only a few discontented fanatics at either end. For twenty years the Democratic-Republicans were practically unopposed in national elections.

Thus three men stand out above all others in the early story of our Union. Washington drew all factions together and made the nation possible. Hamilton built it strong. Jefferson made it permanent on a basis of assured popularity.





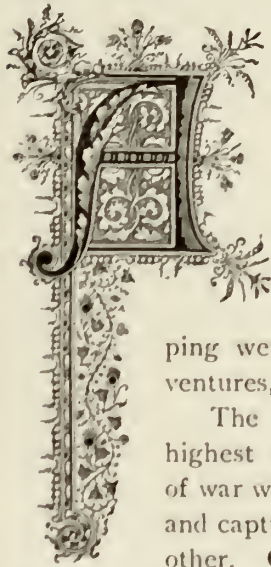


PAKENHAM AT NEW ORLEANS

## Chapter XV

### THE WAR OF 1812

[*Authorities* : H. Adams, "History of the United States" (1801-1817); Roosevelt, "Naval History of the War of 1812"; Maclay, "History of the United States Navy"; Ingersoll, "Historical Sketch of the Second War"; Lossing, "Field Book of the War of 1812"; Coggeshall, "History of the American Privateers"; Kingsford, "History of Canada"; Rives, "James Madison."]



THE opening of the nineteenth century the United States ships were the chief carriers of the ocean trade of the world. Widespread war in Europe had driven from the seas the merchant vessels of almost every other nation. Our Presidents had managed to keep us out of the turmoil, but even neutral vessels found it increasingly difficult to be permitted to trade with the belligerent Powers. Still the profits of the shipping were so great that our daring seamen persisted in their ventures, and the wealth of the country increased rapidly.

The American navy of the time, though small, was of the highest efficiency. In 1799, when we had seemed on the point of war with France, the American frigate "Constellation" fought and captured two French men-of-war, one a few months after the other. Our ships were too few to repress the insolence of England, but they did what all Europe had failed to do—checked the piracy of the "Barbary States," the African lands along the Mediterranean.

Every American boy has heard how Preble bombarded Tripoli, and Decatur burned the "Philadelphia." Both events occurred in the contest with the Barbary States. All the trading nations paid tribute to the African pirates, to save their ships from plunder. In 1801 the Pasha of Tripoli declared war

against America, because we had been slow in forwarding his money. The entire American navy was then assembled off the Pasha's capital, his ships were defeated, and his harbor was blockaded. But before its strong forts could be attacked, one of our frigates, the "Philadelphia," while pursuing an African ship, ran aground close in shore and was captured by swarms of the enemy. She was towed in triumph into Tripoli. Lieutenant Decatur determined to save or burn her. One night, with a small schooner and a picked crew, he sailed into the harbor like a merchantman. Pretending that his boat was unmanageable, he steered her purposely against the "Philadelphia," and instantly he and his men rushed up the frigate's side. Her numerous Tripolitan crew, terrified by the sudden, furious onslaught, plunged or were driven overboard, and Decatur, finding it impossible to get the "Philadelphia" out of the harbor, burned her to the water's edge. Then, amid the roar of cannon and all the tumult of the excited port, he and his daring crew escaped in safety.

The African fleet dared not attack ours, and the American guns could make little impression on the enemy's forts. So affairs seemed rather at a deadlock, until the Americans joined with the pretender to the Tripolitan throne and began a land expedition. Then the Pasha yielded and made a treaty of peace by which the ancient tribute was ended forever (1805). This happened early in Jefferson's second term, but, despite the demonstration of the value of our ships, the President's ideas of economy in government made him reduce the little navy until it practically ceased to exist.

Meanwhile, France and England had renewed their contemptuous treatment of our trading vessels. The immense British navy could scarce keep supplied with seamen. So its captains began to seize and "impress" men wherever they could, even taking them from the decks of American merchant ships. They always excused this robbery by asserting that the men were English deserters; and to discover such deserters, they claimed the "Right of Search" in any ship whatever.

American resentment grew more and more bitter against this insolence, and in 1807 the land burst into flame over the "Chesapeake" incident. This occurred off Chesapeake Bay. Some sailors impressed into an English ship, escaped on the American coast, fleeing to shore amid a storm of bullets. Three of the deserters at least were Americans, and to preserve them from being retaken and hanged by the merciless Britons, they were admitted to the "Chesapeake," an American man-of-war. Their hiding-place became known, and a general order was given several British frigates to watch for the "Chesapeake," to insist on searching her, and to recapture the deserters.

In pursuance of these orders, the frigate "Leopard" approached the "Chesapeake" on the ocean and demanded the men. Captain Barron of the

American ship refused to permit a search, whereon the "Leopard" began firing broadsides into the unprepared "Chesapeake." Several men were killed and wounded; Captain Barron himself was severely hurt, and, being utterly unready for defence, he struck his flag and acknowledged his vessel to be the "Leopard's" prize. The English captain could not very well accept the surrender, as the two countries were not at war; but he exercised the "Right of Search," took four "deserters" from the American vessel, and sailed away. Three of these men were afterward proved to be American citizens; the other was hanged.

This insult was too much for even the pacific Jefferson. The country, as he himself said, had not been so roused since the fight at Lexington. He ordered all British vessels to leave America, and made such unmistakable preparations for war that England concluded to apologize, and the three surviving sailors were restored to the deck of the "Chesapeake." Captain Barron was dismissed from our navy, for having allowed himself to be caught unprepared and so disgracefully overcome.

The injury in the "Chesapeake" affair was mainly one of sentiment; financially, the seizure of our merchant ships and goods upon various pretexts was far more serious, though our Government still sought to avoid the necessity of war. Instead, Congress passed laws prohibiting intercourse with either France or England, the most important of these being the "Embargo Act," which forbade our own ships to leave port at all for foreign trade. It was hoped that this would have a similar effect as the non-importation agreements of the Revolution, but, on the contrary, it enabled England to recover some of her own lost trade; and Napoleon sarcastically remarked that he would help our Government enforce the act—that any American ships found in French ports must have disobeyed it; and he seized them all.

Jefferson's administration was largely in the hands of Southerners. The Southern States were not trading, but agricultural communities, and they scarce realized that the shipping interests were the very life-blood of New England. The working of the Embargo act almost ruined the Northeast. Its commerce fell off to practically nothing; empty ships rotted at the wharves. Foreign exactions had not done New Englanders one fraction the harm their own Government inflicted. Any trade, the victims declared, was better than none at all.

It became impossible to enforce the obnoxious law. President Jefferson, who had been mainly responsible for it, was bitterly assailed. He tells us that he had to choose between its repeal and civil war. Almost his last act as President was to discontinue the Embargo, and as his second term closed he retired from political life as eagerly as Washington had done. "Never did a



prisoner released from his chains," said Jefferson, "feel such relief as I shall, on shaking off the shackles of power."

His ablest lieutenant and Secretary of State, James Madison, also of Virginia, was elected to succeed him, though in New England the extreme Federalist party revived under stress of the Embargo, and made some resistance to Southern dominance.

In a way, however, the Embargo Act had been of benefit to New England. It had forced her versatile people to turn their attention to manufacturing the articles which could no longer be secured from England. The Yankees soon supplied the entire country with clothes and tools of every description. The vast manufacturing interests of our land, barely existent before, were developed at this period to the leading position they have ever since occupied among us.

Meanwhile, a new and very dangerous foe had arisen in the West. This was Tecumseh, most famous of Indian chiefs. He declared with truth that the whites were steadily driving his people from their homes, that the Indians seldom understood the treaties by which they sold their land, and that even though they did, the few who signed the papers and received the presents, could not sell what belonged to the entire race. He took up a particular case, and demanded the abandonment of one such treaty just made by General Harrison, commander of the American forces in the Northwest.

This demand being refused, Tecumseh planned a general league and uprising of all the tribes of the Mississippi valley. He was a remarkable orator and organizer. His speeches roused his race to fury, and his schemes seemed approaching a terrible success.

The neighboring red men became so defiant that General Harrison suspected mischief and marched a strong force to the Tippecanoe River, where stood the chief Indian settlement of the Northwest. Tecumseh himself was away in the South, completing the details of his plans; but his twin brother, "The Prophet," also a chieftain of importance, proposed a friendly conference with the white men. Having thus, as he thought, disarmed suspicion, he gathered all his braves and attacked General Harrison's little army in the night.

Fortunately, Harrison had suspected this very stratagem. His men were ready, and, extinguishing their camp fires, they gave the Indians shot for shot in the darkness. Then with the first glimmering of morning they charged the savages and scattered them with heavy loss. The Indian settlement was burned and the great league broken before it could be formed (1811). Tecumseh, returning in furious haste from the South, almost slew his brother in his rage at the precipitate attack that had ruined his plans. Then the great leader fled to Canada, whence he later worked us even greater harm.

England was accused of fomenting this Indian outbreak. She, and France

as well, continued to insult, befool, and rob us on the seas. A war party sprang up in Congress and waxed ever stronger. At its head was young Henry Clay, one of the greatest of our statesmen. He and his followers deeply resented the scornful way in which all Europe treated us. They declared that President Madison could not be "kicked into a fight." Yet the very trait thus held up to ridicule, the solemn unwillingness with which almost every one of our Presidents has drawn back from war, is felt now as the highest evidence of their strength and of America's civilization. Our mission is not that of squabblers nor of murderers, but that of leaders in the paths of peace.

If ever a nation was hounded into war by its enemy, ours was into that of 1812. In 1811 a little British sloop-of-war dared to fire into our frigate, the "President." The shot seems to have been delivered in pure insolence. The "President" responded with a broadside which badly battered the smaller vessel and slew many of her crew. Both Governments upheld the action of their fiery captains. War came ever nearer, and at last Madison yielded to importunity and formally proclaimed the contest, June 18, 1812. We had gained our independence on land, said the war party, we must now gain it on the seas, and they called this the "Second War of Independence."

New England, the region mainly aggrieved by Britain's "Right of Search" and restrictions on commerce, was flatly opposed to the contest. Her merchants had not forgotten the disastrous effects of the Embargo. War, they knew, would again banish their commerce from the ocean. England had over a thousand war vessels in all; we had not one to rank with her huge "line of battle" ships. Of the second grade, or "frigates," we had six, and perhaps a dozen smaller boats.

The plan of the war party was to take advantage of England's being engaged in the tremendous struggle with Napoleon, to leave the ocean to her if need be, and to conquer Canada. This last was apparently regarded as an easy matter, but Canada had found a great trading advantage in being protected by England's navy, and a large portion of the Canadians were the tories who had been driven from our States. These had no desire to welcome us. Moreover, our former foe, Tecumseh, came eagerly forward. He was made a general in the British army, and drew all the Indians of the Northwest into alliance with our enemy.

There is no other period of our history to which we must look back with so little of satisfaction or pride, as the early days of this war of 1812. Long as the danger had threatened, Congress had made very little provision for it. Personal suffering and sorrow had not brought the contest close to the people's hearts as in 1776, and every one was willing that some one else should do the fighting. Troops could scarce be collected. Our officers, devoid of military ex-

perience, had risen from various walks of civil life. Not only were they unpractised, many of them proved totally unfit for war.

General Hull commanded the department of Michigan, with headquarters at Detroit. He made a feeble forward movement into Canada, stopped, drew back, and took shelter behind his fortifications. The British troops opposed to him were fewer in number than his own; but the vigorous and competent English leader, General Brock, took advantage of Hull's timidity, besieged the retreating Americans in Detroit, joined forces with Tecumseh's Indians, and threatened to let massacre loose upon the whole Northwest. Despite the furious protest of his subordinate officers, Hull capitulated and delivered not only his immediate followers, but all the American forces throughout the region to the British general.

Brock then moved to the Niagara River to resist another and equally unsuccessful attempt at invasion. A small body of Americans crossed the Niagara into Canada at Queenstown, and stormed the heights in a brilliant dash. Brock tried to recapture the position with reinforcements, but was driven back and mortally wounded. Less than a thousand Americans in all had crossed the river, and their comrades, through sectional jealousy or fear, refused to follow them. The gallant little band on the heights, headed now by Colonel Winfield Scott, were assaulted again and again by outnumbering forces of the British and Indians, until at last the dwindling remnant were either captured or fairly pushed over the cliff behind them into the Niagara gorge. The conquest of Canada was indefinitely postponed.

Congress's high hopes of cheap military glory having been thus unexpectedly dampened, our people found what consolation they could in the equally unexpected triumphs of our little navy. Its condition was just the opposite of that of the army. In the war with the Barbary States, Commodore Preble had trained up a set of officers, skilful, vigorous, alert, and inspired with the highest spirit of patriotism and devotion to the service. Decatur was but the type of dozens as daring as he.

Captain Hull began operations with the celebrated frigate "Constitution," by a remarkable escape from a British fleet. Then (August 19, 1812) he fell in with the "Guerriere," an English frigate slightly weaker than his own, and compelled her to surrender after a short and spirited action, which left the "Guerriere" a wreck. This was the first English frigate which had yielded to another within the memory of men, and the incident caused as profound an impression in Europe as in America. English ships, it seemed, were not invincible.

Two other similar combats followed. Decatur in the "United States" met the British frigate "Macedonian" and captured her, after killing or wounding



over a hundred of her crew. The "United States" lost but eleven men. In December the "Constitution," now under command of Captain Bainbridge, secured her second victim; and this time at least there was no inequality of force. The "Java" was one of the most powerful frigates of the British navy, and had on board wellnigh five hundred men; but she surrendered to Bainbridge after an hour's fighting, so battered that the conqueror blew up the enemy's abandoned hulk. The twice victorious "Constitution" received from America the affectionate nickname of "Old Ironsides."

Two of our smaller war vessels also gained decisive victories over equally matched British opponents, and by the spring of 1813 nearly five hundred British merchantmen had been captured by our privateers. England was in an uproar, as little satisfied with the war's results as we.

In June of 1813 we met our first reverse upon the seas. The unfortunate "Chesapeake" was being fitted out in Boston harbor, and her command was given to Captain Lawrence, who had already won a victory in his sloop "Hornet." The British frigate "Shannon" appeared off Boston and challenged Lawrence to a battle. His crew were untrained, his ship only half ready, but with the glory of the navy in his heart, he sailed out to the combat. In fifteen minutes it was over. The "Chesapeake" became unmanageable and drifted helplessly against the enemy. Half her men were killed or wounded, and Lawrence, mortally wounded, was carried from the deck, crying: "Don't give up the ship." The British sailors, swarming on board, beat down all opposition that remained.

Meanwhile, military affairs were going a little better along the Canadian frontier. There was much fighting around Lake Ontario in 1813, though no very important battles. Gradually the incompetent officers were weeded out, and such men as Colonel Scott came to the front and secured command. Scott instituted a drill camp, where he turned his raw militia into veterans, who were to make a very different showing in another year.

Along Lake Erie and the further West, we were triumphantly successful. Commodore Oliver H. Perry won his famous victory. He was in command of our little naval force upon the lake, consisting of two brigs and several smaller vessels. The British fleet was about equal to his own, and after much skilful manœuvring the two met in decisive battle near the western end of the lake (September 14, 1813). Perry hoisted as his fighting signal the already widely known exclamation of the dying Lawrence, "Don't give up the ship," and it has ever since been the motto of the American navy.

Perry's flagship headed the attack at close quarters and was soon a helpless wreck. In the midst of battle and death, with bullets flying all around him, the commander had himself and his flag carried by a rowboat to his only other

brig. With this he plunged again into the midst of the battered and exhausted British fleet. His victory was complete. Not one of the enemy's vessels escaped. Perry's brief report of the engagement has taken a place in history: "We have met the enemy and they are ours. Two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop."

The battle of Lake Erie had an important effect upon the war. General Harrison had replaced the surrendered General Hull in command of the Americans in the West. The death of the gallant General Brock had placed the incompetent General Proctor in control of the English.

Each leader intended to invade the other's territory, and each counted on the Lake Erie fleet to transport his troops across the lake. Hence after Perry's fight it was Harrison who invaded Canada. He met the British and their Indian allies on the Thames River. The British regulars fought splendidly, and the Indians under Tecumseh displayed a steady and desperate valor never elsewhere equalled by their race. But Tecumseh was slain, Proctor fled, and then the American victory was overwhelming. All the territory that Hull had surrendered, and all western Canada as well, passed into Harrison's hands. The Indian confederacy was destroyed.

During 1812 and 1813 Great Britain had conducted the American war as languidly as possible, keeping on the defensive, while she reserved her main strength for her Titanic grapple with Napoleon. In 1814 Bonaparte's downfall had been accomplished, and England turned her serious attention to the American contest. Our men-of-war and privateers had captured over a thousand of her merchant ships and practically destroyed her commerce. The British Government was now determined to exterminate our little navy at any cost, and did not hesitate to override all national law.

One of our frigates, the "Essex," was repairing at Valparaiso in South America. Ships are supposed never to fight in a neutral harbor, but two British vessels attacked the "Essex" in her helpless condition and destroyed her after a bloody resistance. Commodore Decatur, in the "President," was captured by a British fleet. Our frigates were blockaded in various harbors by whole squadrons of the enemy. Only the famous "Constitution" managed to keep upon the seas.

She was under the command of Captain Stewart when she met two English ships, the "Cyane" and the "Levant," off the Portuguese coast, in February, 1815. The "Constitution" was somewhat stronger than either of her foes, but together they expected to make short work of her. By the most consummate seamanship, Stewart kept them apart, and fought and captured both. When the British captains met in his cabin, each began blaming the other for the mistakes which had lost the battle. "Gentlemen," interposed Stewart, "no

matter what you might have done, I would have had you both; and if you doubt it, I will put you back on your ships and we will try again."

Our smaller vessels, too, and even our privateers, sustained the high reputation we had won. Celebrated among these lesser contests was that of the privateer "General Armstrong" under Captain Reid. She was found in the Portuguese harbor of Fayal by a British squadron and attacked there, in open violation of all neutrality laws. The "General Armstrong" had but ninety men and only seven cannon, of which just one was big enough to be of effective service. The English fleet had 2,000 men and 140 guns, but the shallow water allowed only one of their ships to come within close range of the Americans. This one was so battered by Captain Reid's big gun, the "long Tom," that she withdrew. The Americans repulsed two desperate boat attacks made by the entire fleet, hundreds of the British being slain. The Portuguese authorities notified the English commander to stop fighting in their harbor, but the Briton swore he would have that privateer if he destroyed all Fayal. The entire fleet drew as close to the "General Armstrong" as they could, and, finding his one gun useless against their seven score, Captain Reid scuttled his ship, and withdrawing his men to a stone fort on shore, dared the whole British force to come and capture him. They did not make the attempt. In fact, they had lost so many men that they put back to England to refit. They had been on their way to aid in capturing New Orleans, and the delay brought them there just too late, giving our troops time to prepare its defence. The gallant fight of Captain Reid has often been sung in American verse.

The English military operations for 1814 were also planned on a most extensive scale. Three armies of veterans, released from the Napoleonic wars, were to invade the United States from three different points. The smallest of the expeditions was sent to Chesapeake Bay. British ships had been ravaging the helpless Virginia coast for some time, much as they had done during the Revolution. This fleet was now strengthened and troops were sent out to enable it to extend its ravages inland. The available force for the land operations did not exceed five thousand men, and our government officials did not think it possible that the capital itself would be attacked. They delayed summoning even the militia until it was too late. The English general, Ross, realizing our unprepared weakness, marched suddenly upon Washington.

Some six or eight thousand hastily gathered militia opposed his path at Bladensburg on the Potomac; but the battle of Bladensburg, as it was called, was little more than a farce. The general in command was as inexperienced as the men. President Madison and several high officials of government were on the field, and they interfered and issued contradictory commands. The troops became hopelessly confused, and at the advance of the enemy took to



flight in a body, their general, the President, and the rest of the government following their example. It is the most disgraceful scene in our history, and it is well that we should not blink its shame, lest the warning be lost upon us and some unfortunate occasion repeat the performance.

Only a body of five hundred seamen under Commodore Barney remained upon the field, handling their artillery with deadly effect, until the British regulars began to outflank and surround them. Then the majority escaped capture by flight. General Ross entered Washington without further opposition (August 24, 1814), and burned the Capitol and most of the public buildings, inflicting irreparable loss by the destruction of many of our records.

This capture of Washington was little more than a daring raid. Ross knew too well the danger of remaining with his small force in the heart of the aroused country; and having done his work, he retreated hastily to the protection of his fleet. In September he attempted a similar descent on Baltimore, but was resolutely repulsed by the militia, fighting from behind intrenchments. General Ross himself was slain by a sharpshooter.

The second British invasion was designed for our northern frontier. Before it was ready, an army of about four thousand Americans, mostly those whom Colonel Scott had trained, started to invade Canada from the neighborhood of Niagara. Their leader, General Brown, attacked and defeated the British in the battle of Chippewa. Unable to advance for lack of supplies, he hovered around Niagara for some weeks. The enemy were heavily reinforced and assailed his little army at Lundy's Lane, close within sound of the roar of the great Falls.

Lundy's Lane (July 25, 1814) was the most even and resolutely contested battle of the war. The forces and the losses were about equal on both sides, nearly two thousand men in all being killed or wounded. The honor of our American soldiers was restored. Scott's troops under his gallant leadership proved themselves quite as resolute as the British veterans, and the British taunt that our men never stood against a bayonet charge was gloriously refuted. Far into the night the attacks and counter-attacks continued, but the Americans captured and held the enemy's cannon, and at last the exhausted Britons abandoned the field. General Brown and General Scott were both badly wounded, and the Americans, as battered as their foes, withdrew to Fort Erie. The English were again reinforced and besieged the fort; but when General Brown recovered from his hurts, he resumed command, conducted the defence with great skill, and in September made a sortie in which the British suffered so heavily that they abandoned the siege.

The long-planned English invasion from Canada seemed more likely to be successful at some less vigorously defended point. Fourteen thousand troops



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